9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

does exist, senility or infancy almost always makes one or both participants comparatively ineffective.

The same factors which affect one's attitude toward more distant parents are also operative in the case of grandparents, with the effect of comparative age more strongly operative.

"Friends." While there is considerable variation in how clearly it is recognized and expressed by different individuals, there is no doubt that the Comanche share with other Plains tribes the custom of an institutionalized friendship between men of the same age. This usually had its origin in warfare, when one man or boy would save another's life by a deed of conspicuous bravery; or perhaps they would just go out together several times, and this friendship would grow to the point where it was openly recognized. Such friends became constant companions, sharing everything with each other, including their women friends; thus it is still customary for friends to refer to their respective partners as "our wife" or "our sweetheart," and other people use the dual form of the possessive in referring to a man's friend's wife as "your wife." A man uses terms for his friend's family which would equate the friend with a brother and this relationship was not infrequently realized in the old days through adoption. However, this rather romantic picture is somewhat spoiled by a revelation which profoundly shocked one of our rather idealistic interpreters, to the effect that this supposedly lifelong bond not infrequently became somewhat weakened, and a new "friend" came to fill the place of the old.[13]

Although warfare has become a thing of the past for the Indians (except for the battlefields of Europe and the Pacific), a few of the more romantic or lonesome individuals have attempted to continue this custom, but it has generally lapsed. One of our informants, (I), who came to his maturity shortly after the Comanche were rounded up at Fort Sill, embraced it quite vigorously, including the *nīmī?ára?* relationship, but discovered after a time that his "friend" believed only in one-way sharing, and was forced to give it up.

Outside of this formalized situation, the use of the term *hái*c, "friend," is not at all clear. Two major focal relationships are covered by it: the institutionalized friend, and one's brothers (though usually not one's own brothers). Both of these are spread out, often with very attentuated behavorial associations, to include a great number of people—in fact, virtually all males of one's own age or generation. These two groups of people merge and are, in fact, never really separate, for even in the friendship discussed above, they are combined insofar as possible. Yet in many cases a person is recognized as one or the other; individuals differ in this regard. T, for instance, referred to a man as

[13] A derived, but very distinct, practice was for a man of low prestige to enter into a *hái*c relationship with a successful warrior. The subordinate partner acted essentially as a body-servant for his dominant "friend," especially on war-parties or while hunting, and in turn basked in the reflected glory and protection of a strong man. Linton, personal communication.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

572 196 *hâic* only if he wished to emphasize that for one reason or another he did not consider him a relative at all, and TY used *tɨ̄'·i?* in much the same way. All informants agreed that sibling terms provided a much closer and warmer way of expressing the relationship, but used the friend designation in casual conversation as being more informal. No attempt is made to distinguish which variety of "friend" the individual is; this is assumed to be known to anyone who might be present. It is possible that some of the confusion in this regard is a product of contact with white people, many of whom have *hâic* as practically the only Comanche word in their vocabularies, and use it as a greeting without discrimination; but this does not seem to be the most important factor, for there is every indication that this lack of clear definition of the application of the term is aboriginal. However, the use of *hâic* as an equivalent of "sweetheart" does seem to have been a translation of the American "girl friend," "boy friend."

This lack of clarity makes it practically impossible to formulate any even approximate behavior pattern associated with this term if, indeed, any exists; such opinions as were offered in answer to general questions were obviously references to one or both of the focal relationships, in spite of the fact that the term is seldom applied to own brothers, and the formal friendship, when it did exist, was far from including all the individuals who were regularly called *hâic*. An analogous situation is apparent in our own culture where "friendship," is conceived of as a warm and unselfish relationship, expressive of all our more worthwhile values, and yet one considers hundreds of people "friends" toward whom one is willing to display little more of this ideal behavior than a cheery "hello."

The feminine counterpart of *hâic*, *tɨ̄'·i?*, operates in about the same way, and its usage is often no clearer. Whether the institutionalized friendship ever existed here, and if so, what its basis was, is not apparent. Inasmuch as the affairs of women between themselves were generally considered to be pretty trivial by the dominant warriors of days gone by, it is almost certain that no friendship among them could have achieved the public recognition which the *hâic* relationship did. It is not clear whether women recognized the especially close friendships which obviously existed among them as being a comparable phenomenon, though they presumably did.

602 *Discussion.* It is obvious from the foregoing brief discussion of behavior that there is a definite and distinctive pattern associated with each relationship situation, and that each relative has a number of more or less clear-cut functions toward the individual. While these patterns are unquestionably identified to some extent by the use of kinship terms, it cannot be said on the basis of this alone that the terms are themselves the primary factors in determining behavior; a close group of relatives might well function in much the same way even if their relationships were not terminologically conceptualized.

But the real test can be applied when the terms are used outside of the

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[For further information on words and meaning, see Category 192.]

194 whispered vowels may be neutralized to Ɨ, or elided. In the latter case its length may
[192] be retained in a pulse. When a long vowel loses its accent, or when a following voiceless vowel becomes voiced, it often loses a mora; e.g., pu·kU *horse*, navukuwá·ʔ *automobile* (without its horse); tĭcipOsaʔ or tĭcipƗsaʔ *nut, bolt, screw*.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. The following have been noted: ia, ĭa, ie, ĭi, ai,
[192] oa, ua, ui, and ue. Examples are: pia- *big*; mĭa *moon*; tĭe- *little*; ʔivūʔ *mole*; haicI *friend*; coapƗ *shoulder*; suavE *cross*; pui *eye*; wihtue *bucket* (objective). -aʔe-, -oʔi-, and -uʔe- are frequently pronounced as clusters in rapid speech; e.g., noʔi *egg* becomes noinĭ· *eggs*.

Stress most frequently falls on the first
[104] syllable. When it does it will not be marked in this paper. An apparent exception to the rule that stress tends to fall on one of the first three syllables of a word is to be found in a long list of names of plants and animals and a few inanimate objects.[a] These words are polysyllabic and end with a stressed long vowel plus ʔ. By analogy the names of many new traits are fitted into this pattern.
[192] Examples are: pohkó·ʔ *burrowing owl*; ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana*; waʔrokiyá·ʔ *pliers* or *crayfish*. A secondary stress may occur on the first syllable of both these and other long words.

Subject to the qualifications noted above in discussing the distribution of various phonemes, the syllabic pattern is the sequence CV or CVC. The vowel may be
[196] long, short, whispered, or a cluster. Other prosodic features such as tone or phrase and sentence melody, except for a few expletives, seem to be only idiosyncratically meaningful.

193 **3.3. Prefixation** even including prefixed clitics, while of less importance morphologically in Comanche than suffixation, is highly productive of neologisms and bulks large in the acculturation vocabulary.

[113] [a] Wilfiam S. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297-301 (1953).

[p. 147-B]

193 Derivational prefixes include a set of instru-
196 mentals, a reflexive, na-, and an intransi-
tivizer, tī-.

Instrumentals are: pi?-[49] *with the buttocks, behind, or referring to the buttocks or rear* (similarly for the others); ta?- *with the foot or leg*; to?- *with the fist, or violent movement of the hands, also with the hoof*; kī?- *with the teeth, or scissors* (extended meaning); ku?- *by heat*; ca?- *by force, usually with the hands; direction towards the body or upwards*; ci?- *with a pointed object (knife, penis, stick), direction away from the body*; co?- *with the head*; ma?- *with the hand, pertaining to the hand*; mu?- *with the nose or mouth*; sī?- *with the feet, by paddling*; wi?- *with the body, movement sideways*; ki?- *with the elbow*; hu?- *with the back*.

Examples: mu?nua?, *hog*, (mu?- + nua? *move*); ma?nua? *checkers, chess, dominoes*; tahpu·nI *to test with the foot*, or *to try on shoes*, (tah- plus pu·nI *to see*), similarly, kihpu·nI *taste*, and for the others.

The prefix, na-, when reduplicated, has reciprocal meaning: navuni? *mirror* (na- plus pu·nI *to see*, plus -?, nominalizer); nanavuni? *window* (*to see each other*). With either reflexive force or meaning *part of, its*, na- is commonly affixed to words for parts of a saddle, automobile, wagon, etc.:[49] navukuwá·?a/nakhaI *auto body* (*auto's house*), navukuwá·?a/nava· *gasoline* (*auto's water*), navukuwá·?a/na?o·mO *wheel* (*auto's leg*), navukuwá·?a/narhoveno·kī? *brake* (*auto's loaded on the hind legs*).

The prefix tī- seems affixed to verbal stems or roots, with or without a subjectivizer, to intransitivize a verb or to make the meaning more general: tīnua? *broom* (tī- plus nua? *to move*); tīma?cune? *file* (tī- plus ma?cune? *to rub with the hand*).

194 [49] h may alternate with ? for these instrumentals.

197 113 [49] Similarly for Pima, George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (p. 68) (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941).

[p. 118-A]

193 **3.4.** Infixation, if indeed it may be so
194 interpreted, is the least productive form of affixation. In an arbitrary class of stems the
193 infix, -V-, indicating the morphophonemic lengthening of a vowel, signifies the im-
194 perative;[41] e.g., hivi·pĭ *drunkard*, hi·vI
196 *drink!*; cihima *to pick up with a stick* and cihi·mA, imperative form. But the following imperative forms also occur: nohi? *toy* and nohI *play!*; kupita? *flashlight* and kupItA *light the fire!*. The singular imperative is phonetically the most economical form a root can take. All the above examples can also be interpreted as the phonetically mechanical results of an inflectional verbal suffix, -minus V (voicing of final vowel), used to indicate the imperative.

193 **3.5.** Suffixation is the most productive
[196] form of affixation. Derivational suffixes include the nominalizers, -pĭ and -?, which
193 make nouns of verbal roots. These forms are highly productive of new word formations
192 in Comanche and figure importantly in the names of new cultural acquisitions: tihka *eat* plus -? gives tihka? *fork*; nohko *bake* plus -pĭ gives nohkopĭ *bread, baked goods.*

[196] There is also a series of derivational classificatory suffixes which make nouns of bound qualitative roots: hu·- *wood, tree* + -pI gives hu·pI *tree*; mu·- *nose* + -pI gives mu·pI *nose*; pia- *big* + -pĭ gives piapĭ *big one*; ?eka- *red* + -vI(tĭ) gives ?ekavItĭ *red one*; yĭva·- *autumn* + -cI(?) gives yĭva·ci? *autumn grapes*. That these are derivational is shown by the fact that they are lost when combining with other stems; e.g., hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); ?ekhsa·? *dye* (*red boiled*).

193 Inflectional suffixes may be either verbal
196 or nominal. They are numerous and convey

[113] [41] Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem Formation, IJAL 15. 93-9, p. 94 (1949). The treatment of Comanche morphology in this paper, while approached differently, owes much to this pioneer statement. See also D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone II: Morpheme List, IJAL, 15.203-12 (1949), for a sketch of the closely related Shoshone language.

[p. 148-B]

193 a wide range of meaning. All verbal in-
196 flections are formed by suffixation. Among those productive of new words are: -kĭ *benefactive or causative*; navi?aikĭ? *rocking-chair* (na- *reflexive* + pi?- *with the buttocks* + ?ai *go, lope* + -kĭ + -? *nominalizer*).
192 -?e *habitual*; nĭmivó·?e·tĭ *camera* (nĭmĭ- *1st per. plural* + -i *objectifier* + po· *draw* + -?e + -V *plural* + -tĭ *nominalizer*). Other
193 verbal suffixes indicate mode, tense and
196 aspect. The following are rather tentative examples: -ma *completive*; -kwa *motion away*; -?tu?i *future (in positive statements)*; -wa?i *future (in negative statements)*; -?i *past, semelfactive*; -yU *past, durative* (?); -nA *continuative* (?); -kI *imperative, plural*; -yu *verbalizer, with substantive stems*; -hr (?).

Nominal inflectional suffixes convey such things as number, case (objective, subjective genitive), and nominalization: -tĭ *nominalizer*; -nĭ· *plural*; -V *plural*; -?a *genitive*; -kwĭ *dual*; -hĭ *dual (on proclitic pronominals)*; -ha *objective*; -hta *objective*; -i *objective*.

193 3.6. Enclisis: Morphologically enclisis may be considered as a special type of
[194] affixation. Clitics are phonologically bound to words, normally unstressed, and, although they stand after any inflection on the stem (enclitic position), they may themselves be inflected (proclitic position). Clitics may be either bound, that is appended to a stem and never uttered in iso-
[196] lation, or free. Examples of bound clitics are: -ca? *declarative*; huhcu·ca?/toyava?aiki/ yĭcĭ?ĭ *that bird flew over the mountain* (huhcu· *bird* + -ca?); -se? *narrative* (in myths and stories); -ha? *interrogative*; -ci? or -si? *diminutive*, etc. Free clitics may function morphologically as either clitics
193 or as stems (see below). Prepositional,
196 locative, pronominal, numerative, demonstrative, and other notions are expressed by clitics.

3.7. A paradigm of pronominal and demonstrative affixes which function as clitics is given below:

[p. 149-A]

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Person		*Singular*		*Dual*	*Plural*
1st	possessive or objective	nĭ-	exclusive	nihĭ- -nikwĭ	-nĭnĭ- -nĭnĭ
	subjective	-nĭ?	inclusive	tahĭ- -takwĭ, or -tahĭ	-ta-, or -tanĭ-
2nd		?ĭ- -tĭ		mihĭ- -mikwĭ	-mĭ-
3rd	visible	tsa- -na?	emphatic	marhĭ- -narikwĭ	-nari-
	invisible	?u- -?u?	or -su(?)-	?urhĭ- -urikwĭ	-?urĭ-
	close	?ĭ- -?ĭ?	or -si(?)-	?ithĭ- -itikwĭ	-?itĭ-
	distant	?o- -?o?	or -so(?)-	?orhĭ- -orikwĭ	-?orĭ-
	very own	pĭ-,	or -sĭ- (medially)	pĭ-, or -sĭ-	pĭ-, or -sĭ-

Duality is expressed by the nominal suffixes, -hĭ and kwĭ, for the 1st and 2nd persons: pĭhĭkanikĭ?urĭkwĭ *they* (dual, invisible) *are at their own house* (pĭ- + -hĭ + kahnĭ *house* + kĭ *at, in* + ?urĭ + -kwĭ). For the 3rd person demonstratives duality seems to be expressed by an infixed h; however it is probably the result of reduction and assimilation: ?u-, 3rd person invisible, plus -tĭ, nominalizer, plus -hĭ, dual, gives ?ur(ĭ)hĭ. Inflection for plurality, except for the 1st person exclusive, is accomplished with the pluralizer, -V.

As proclitics these affixes function as possessives, or, plus an inflectional suffix, -i, in the non-singular, as objectives. If any word precedes the verb in the sentence, the pronoun subject is generally enclitic to that word. In clitic form they are unstressed. In objective pronominals, where the suffix -i is added, phonetic assimilation may occur: mĭhĭ- + -i + pu·ni *see* + -nĭ? gives mĭhivúninĭ? *I see you two*. Assimilation and reduction with -i also occurs in other stems; sonipĭnĭ· *grass* + -i gives sonipĭni· *grass* (obj.).

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When inflected with nominal suffixes these pronominal forms may stand as free stressed words: nĭ- + -nĭ, plural, gives nĭnĭ *we* (*exclusive*). Both demonstratives and non-demonstratives may cluster with other clitics to constitute a free stressed word: nĭ?u? *it is I*; ?onai *from there*; ?inai *from*

[p. 149-B]

193 *here*; ?inakwï?u? *it is on this side* (?i- + nakwï *side, direction* + ?u?).

[196] 3.8. Compounding is a morphological process defined as the juxtaposition of roots and/or stems to form new stems. These new compound stems may be inflected or stand as free words. Compounds may be composed of from two to four roots: ?ekahpa· *soda water* (red plus water); tu·ku·nA *coal* (black plus fire); pawovivu·kU *boat* (water plus board plus horse); piarosawoviknI *big white wooden house*. Examples of compounds composed of root plus stem are: wanaciya·? *flag* (wana- *cloth* + ci- *with a stick*, an instrumental prefix + ya· *hold up* + -? *nominalizer*); pihna·nohkopï *cake, cookies* (pihna· *sweet* + nohko *bake* + -pï *nominalizer*).

193 Among the most productive of compounded acculturation terms are a series of qualitative roots or stems (see the discussion of stem types below). These invariably

[128] precede noun stems in a compound. They are grouped below according to their syntactic position relative to each other:

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pia-	*big*
pie-	*old, former*
tie-	*little*
ke-	*negative*

II

?isa-	*false, deceitful*
hu·-	*wood*
ca·-	*good, fine*
so·-	*many*
yu·-	*common, ordinary*

III

?eka-	*red*
?evi-	*blue, green*
?esi-	*grey, dull*
?eso-	*light in color*
?oha-	*yellow*
?otï-	*brown*
tu-	*black*
tosa-	*white*

[p. 150-A]

193 Bound particle stems also function in
196 compounding:

-wahtĬ *without* (-wah + -tĬ, nominalizer), noyowahtĬ *without testicles*—a personal name; navukuwá·ʔ *automobile* (na-, reflexive + pu·kU *horse* + -wahtĬ *without*. The ending presumably represents reduction to a syllabic pattern common for many plant and animal names—see 3.2.).

-katĬ *possessor of* (-ka + -tĬ, nominalizer), puhakatĬ *medicine-man* (puha *supernatural power* + -katĬ). Both of the above are commonly used in personal and animal names.

193 196 **3.9.** Reduplication, a very important technique in many Uto-Aztecan languages such as Pima, seems in Comanche to be restricted to the inflection for the dual and plural forms of qualitative stems and a limited group of kinship and status terms. There are several patterns of reduplication: $C_1V_1C_2$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2$ or $C_1V_1hC_1V_1C_2$: ʔekavI- *red*, becomes ʔeʔekavItĭ·ca? *the red one*; and tĭta·tĬ *little one*, becomes tĭhtĭta·tĭnĭ· *little ones*. $C_1V_1V_2C_2V_2$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1V_2C_2V_2$; ca·tietĬ *favorite child*, becomes ca·tĭrietĭnĭ· *favorite children*, and piava· *lake*, becomes piviava·nĭ· *lakes*. And $C_1V_1hC_2$ apparently becomes $C_1V_1hC_1V_1hC_2$; tahka? *sibling*, becomes tahtahkanĭ· *siblings*.

It also seems possible that reduplication may be used with certain verb stems to convey an iterative meaning: ʔekayĭyika? *jelly, jam, jello* (ʔeka- *red* + yĭka *to shake* (?) + -?, nominalizer).

193 196 195 A somewhat anomalous form occurs in some ejaculations ʔĭrĭrĭrĭrĭ· *I'm*, or *it's so hot*!. Reduplication also figures importantly in the rather extensive vocabulary of baby words:[a] papá·ʔ *water*; pepé·ʔ *ball*; and tatá·ʔ *food*.

193 **3.10.** A number of stem classes may be distinguished according to their distribution in relation to affixes and other stems, and, to a limited degree, by their meaning.

[a] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, I JAL 14.11-4 (1948).

(p. 150-B)

16: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

194 preceding it in (15). So far as has been ascertained at present, such differences are fluctuant and not meaningful.

194 The only association between rhythm and meaning differences so far detected is in
196 situations demanding attention ('attentative') as in imperative constructions and the drawing of exaggerated attention to words or specific parts of utterances. This rhythm pattern consists of a deliberate, slow rhythm with few syllables to the rhythm unit and marked extra lengthening. It may optionally
[104] correlate with emphatic stress. In the following illustrations attentative rhythm (symbolized /‖/ for each rhythm unit with which it occurs) should be read with each modified syllable long, and such rhythm units containing vowel clusters with exaggerated length. ‖ˈʔorii ‖ˈnĭmĭ‖kuh‖cuʔ‖nii ‖ˈpuuni *Look at those buffalo!* ‖ˈpia‖rikɨ‖-kĭpĭ ‖ˈkima ‖ˈʔinU‖ni‖tU *Beefsteak,* (nickname of a person) *come here!* Text examples may be found in sentences (5), (7), (8).

194 **2.** The contrastive placing of lexical stress may be seen in the following words: ˈtosahwI *silver,* waˈsape *bear,* mahtoˈkoo *thumb,* kuyuˈ-niʔnĭI *turkeys,* nĭmĭˈkuhcuʔ *our* (pl.) *cow,* ˈnĭmĭkuhcuʔ *buffalo.*

Emphatic stress, which occurs occasionally for affective purposes, always coincides in point of placement with lexical stress. (See text sentences (9), (13), (14), (18).) Emphatic stress is used to give extra intensity to a situation, and not as in English to emphasize one word as against another. It may occur on a single point of lexical stress or at several such points in sequence. The distribution of lexical stress is most prevalent on one of the first three syllables of a word[9] and most often on the first syllable of a root or compound.

3. Interpretation of vowel length. Contrastive length of vowel may be seen in

[104] [9] The word is defined by implication as an intra-potential in Formulae pp. 98, 99. It is written bounded by space.

from the above list, is another feature: tĭtĭ is said by little girls for tî·i, *girl friend;* pipiá for piá *mother*, etc. Although reduplication is present in Comanche as a grammatical process, it performs no ostensible grammatical function in the child's speech. Various phonemic substitutions are made; p for kw as pĭhI for kwĭhĬ *wife;* pánA for kwánA *odor, smell;* also i for ĭ as tiás for tĭas, etc. One person carries the personal name, pitá·si? *one who always defecates*, a "baby name", where a p is substituted for the kw in kwĭtA *defecate!*, and the suffix -sI is also added. These substitutions are not regular, but are commonly made by children learning to speak. Somewhat more regular is the substitution of t for r (see examples in the word list).

Several facts become apparent upon study of the above list of baby words. First, it must be recognized that these function not as single, simple words, but as whole sentences with many different, albeit related, possible meanings (exclamatory, imperative, declarative, interrogative) which are elucidated by gestures, intonations, and the context of the situation. They are really sentence-words. Phonetically the baby words are simple: there are no preaspirated consonants; the sonant plus h does not appear; whispered vowels and the defective phonemes, r and v, are rare and their appearance is probably late in the speech development of the child. The x phoneme and the long m are unique to the baby vocabulary.

Reduplication is evident and appears to be especially common in those words generic to the baby language and basic to it. The baby word phonetic pattern of two syllables with the second vowel accented, long, and usually ending in a glottal stop occurs in most of the examples. Words derived from the adult vocabulary are put into this pattern, as may be seen from the relationship terms. Presumably it is in this phonetic form that words are first presented to the child. This seems consistent with our practice of carefully enunciating words when teaching them to a child.

194 121 pretation: "Vowels are normally voiced. It is still questionable whether there are languages in which parallel to the consonantal opposition voiced vs. voiceless, there actually is a similar distinctive opposition of voiced and murmured vowels, as reported about a few American Indian languages, e.g. Comanche. Either the vocal murmur is not a distinctive feature and functions merely as a border mark, or it may be a concomitant of the tense-lax opposition."[3]

This article, therefore, is an attempt to supply more extensive data and argumentation on this point than previous authors have given, since to me it appears conclusive that, in Comanche, voiceless (or 'whispered') vowels in syllabic position are phonemic. The interpretation of phonetic voiceless vocoids in pre- and/or post-syllabic position will also be discussed.

194 1. The phonemic contrast of voiced and voiceless vocoids in syllabic position can be seen in their occurrence in identical environment. Here, surely, no conditioning factor is present. Note, for /e/ versus /E/, ʔu'kuʔ-okʷekʷaiʔu? *she went to render it*, (e.g. *lard*), ʔu'kuʔokʷEkʷaiʔu? *she rendered it and went on*. In these two examples, the stress, length, pitch, rhythm, and phono-
194 logical junctures are the same. The gram-
193 matical structure is also comparable: each begins with the morpheme ʔu- *object, 3d per. sing.*, followed by the morpheme ku-
196 *heat as an instrument*; following the stem in each is the morpheme -kʷa *movement away*, the morpheme -i *past tense*, and the morpheme -ʔuʔ *subject, 3d per. sing.* The stem ʔokʷe means *a flowing or liquification with purpose directed toward the motion indicated*

[3] Idem. 26.

[p. 63-B]

194 *in the following morpheme*, whereas the
196 stem ʔokʷE is a complex stem composed of
193 ʔokʷe modified by the addition of the morpheme comprised phonetically of stem final unvoicing, and which has the semantic implication of *stem meaning resulting in action indicated by the following morpheme.*

194 Brought about by the occurrence of this same stem-final-unvoicing morpheme, and preceding -ki *movement toward*, similar contrasts between voiced and voiceless vowels can be observed, e.g. 'noriɲakiki?u? *he came to pack* versus 'noriɲakIki?u? *he packed and came on.* Again, no phonological or morphological conditioning factors are present. Similar contrasts can be seen in 'mayakeki?-u? *he came to play* (e.g. *the piano*), 'mayakEki?u? *he played and came on*; ?u'hanikīki?u? *he came to fix it for him* versus ?u'hanikIki?u? *he fixed it for him and came on*; ?u'ni?aciki?u? *he came to advise him* compared with ?u'ni?acIki?u? *he advised him and came on.* Another contrast preceding -kʷa can be observed in 'namaka?-mukikʷai?u? *he went to dress himself* versus 'namaka'mukIkʷai?u? *he dressed himself and went on.* -ki and -kʷa are interchangeable in any of the illustrations listed above.

2. Utilization of analogous data should prove profitable, contrasting /u/ /U/, /o/ /O/, /e/ /E/. Thus ?u'?uhtuki?u? *he came to give to her* contrasts with ?u'?-utUki?u? *he gave to her and came on*; 'nohkoki-?u? *she came to bake biscuits* with 'nokOki?u? *she baked biscuits and came on*; and ?u'-manahkeki?u? *he came to measure it* with ?u'manakEki?u? *he measured it and came on.* These same stems occur with similar resultant contrasts preceding -kʷa.

Nothing in these word pairs is of such a nature or in such a position as to make a non-phonemic conditioning variation from voiced to voiceless a characteristic of the vowel. The theoretical possibility of /U/ /O/ being conditioned by voiced equivalents occurring in contiguous syllables preceding these voiceless vowels is partially eliminated